/75 cont./

14 They are certainly not types of beauty, and some, with old age and wrinkles, become frankly ugly. Among the eight
732 or ten thousand individuals we saw, however, none were deformed (12).

12. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 179) in Parí-cachoeira met a midget, about 15 or 18 years old and measuring 107 centimeters in height, playing with the children. His parents, already dead (1903), were of normal stature.

Among the youngest there are even attractive types, and on the
• [847] older ones touches of a serene majesty. It is true that the crippled and the deformed are eliminated at birth (cases that are rare, according to what we found) (13).

13. We know of several cases of crippling. Because of the lack of statistics, we could not say what percentage they represent in the sparse population of these rivers. It seemed to us, however, that they are all consequences of falls while young, or of infantile paralysis.

14 We have thus sketched a Mongoloid type, brachycephalic, lissotrichous, platyrrhinian, slightly prognathic, morphologically mixed, pyknico-athletic, quite close to the norm.

/76/ There are somewhat frequent cases of evolutive
732 retardation in early childhood, and even of true rachitis, accompanied at times by mental debility (14).

14. We also regret here the lack of statistical data that would present to us the percentage of pathological cases. We found in Parí-cachoeira in 1957 two female children with rachitis and mental debility, admitted to the hospital. One eight years old from the Desana tribe, and the other, Tukano, 14 years old. Both,

/156 cont./

152 The Indian lacks some of the more delicate feelings, such as that of compassion. He will not only mistreat an animal, laughing at its painful contortions, but even watch with indifference another person's suffering, even if it is his brother, father, or mother (cf. VII - 4, g (1)).

593 There is no doubt about the existence in the parents, particularly in the mother, of love for their offspring, especially when still in the first childhood. Even then it is a love more effective than affective, diligently learning about the children's health, for whom they procure remedies during illnesses and food. When it is a matter of children already grown, the esteem is contaminated by interest in the services they receive from them. And the grief that they express when the children are absent or die is because they no longer have anyone to bring them fish or cultivate the clearing.

• 847 Attenuating this presumption in favor of mother love is the use of infanticide, and many times it is the mother herself who wants /157/ and executes it. Moreover, cases in which the mother abandons the children, even though newborn, are known.

593 In the children the correlative feeling is counterbalanced,
889 or perhaps exceeded, by their selfishness. When the parents become old, they easily abandon them, without providing clothing for them any longer, or even giving them medicine, food, or water (27).

[115]

27. Pe. João Marchesi bears witness, with the authority of one who knows the totality of the natives, among whom he has lived for 35 years, and who, because of his heroic charity, cover for all the sacrifices, merited it when General Alexandrino Ferreira da Cunha called him "the Anchieta of the Amazon": -- "Among the elements of the same tribe, who consider themselves brothers, there is a certain outward cordiality and consideration toward someone else's suffering, but neither generosity nor a spontaneous

/157 cont./

593 888 /footnote 27 cont./ offering of help and means: it is a cold and sterile egoism." "The old parents are left abandoned when they do not move from the house of one child to that of another, in order not to be a burden." "Nor can the natural love of the procreators be said to have a firm foundation, because of the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn babies, suffocating them as one would do with any little animal" (in the book Os Tucanos /The Tucano/ by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13).

593 581 Apropos of matrimony, Pe. Antônio Giacone writes: -- The Indian, not having love and tenderness for the woman, will be satisfied with the one that they give him, no matter whether she is pretty or ugly; it is enough if she is hard-working and gives him many children; if she is sterile, he will repudiate her as a useless thing, because every Indian marries for the sake of having many children" (Os Tucanos, p. 22). He censures the treatment of the old parents on the part of the children as "indifferent and inhuman" (ibidem, p. 26).

593 758 In November of 1953, on the occasion of our stay in Iauareté, the following episode took place. A young man from Uaracú-ponta (river Uaupés), married a few months earlier, gravely ill with tuberculosis, asked the Director to take him to the Mission hospital. There he had a visit by his wife, who remained in his company for some days. On a second visit, she burst into tears so noisily that the Director advised her that she should restrain herself or move farther away, in order not to add to the suffering of her sick husband. Nevertheless, two days before her husband's death, she wanted to leave for her povoado, taking with her the husband's hammock. And she did so, in spite of his insistent begging that she stay longer and leave his hammock.

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835 All the informants agreed in stating that this substitute could beget children with the wife of the one absent (103).

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> 103. In September of 1955 the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, on a trip of religious and sanitary assistance on the river Papuri, encountered, among the Christian natives of the locality called Melo Franco, an episode that confirms the above information which we had obtained two years before. That is, a married Tukano Indian had been absent for two years, in order to work in the seringals of Colombia. During his absence his brother maintained sexual relations with the absent man's wife, a child being born out of these adulterous relations.

835 As for the paternity, however, the answer was not in agreement.
851 Two asserted that the child would be regarded as the child of the true father; while the rest stated that it would be considered the child of the absent husband. Some even added that if he is "good" (sic) he will give thanks for the service that the substitute rendered him, satisfying his wife and giving him a child. It must be pointed out clearly that no financial obligation for supporting the family of the absent husband intervenes for the substitute.

842 It seems to us that one can conclude that this partial discrep-
• 847 ancy of the information is explained by knowing: 1st -- that formerly the absences must not have been very prolonged, so as to create the problem whose solution we had asked for; 2nd -- that there is frequent use of sterilization and abortive agents, and that the woman regularly seeks to make the interval between her deliveries a space of two or more years.

581 From the above information we think it is to be inferred that the official marriage only aims at the determination of paternity and, therefore, the determination of the tribe to which the child belongs and which attends to (father and mother) its rearing.

/384 cont./

836 inducing them, not infrequently, to provocation (109)

[832] [515]

109. While bathing, the girls agitate the water, with the hand cupped, from below upwards, with a characteristic noise. The boys respond to this signal by fanning their open hands in front of the chest, one higher than the other, so that they are crossed without meeting, and, since they are almost on the surface of the water, they produce a noise that is heard at a distance of two hundred meters or more. This provocative noise is called Pixtwasé.

*[192]

and invitation to the boys.

832 /385/ Although the old customs state that the bathing of the
836 women precedes that of the men and should be before the break
[515] of day, sometimes the Indians are surprised in mixed bathing during the warm hours of the day.

*[192] [278] The young women prepare philters or potions, known by the Nheengatú name of Puçanga (in Tukano Ox-kó), which they give to the young men to drink in order to attract them to them; or, in front of their eyes, they wear or rub on themselves roots and plants to which is attributed an aphrodisiac virtue.

842 The cases of illegitimate pregnancy of maidens are not rare,
• 847 although they know (110)
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110. We had gathered for the "centro de Pesquisas" /Research Center/ of Iauareté some plants considered as sterilizing and abortive. While organizing the herbarium, some identifying labels fell off. We called on three maidens, and with the greatest facility, upon seeing the plants, they indicated the name and the purpose, exactly as was stated on the labels.

842 /385 cont./
• 847 and use contraceptive and abortive methods. Their own mother
848 (or mother-in-law when it is a matter of a newlywed) will teach these methods.

The illegitimate son is called Ko-boxkáko (literally it means
848 "found by her or hers"; in the feminine Ko-boxkáko), and it does
*[192] not constitute an obstacle to marriage for the unwed mother (111)

> 111. In Pari-cachoeira in April of 1954, we were able to see a young Tukano woman (later married to a Desana of Iraiti, river Tiquié) carrying an illegitimate child from her relations with a young Tuyuka man, who at Easter of this year married a young Tukano woman from Pari-cachoeira.

or create a problem for the married mother (112).

> 112. With the greatest ease, Maria Gama, a young Ipeka woman of Urubucuara, speaking to us about her family, told us about having a younger ko-boxkáko brother.

581 It is considered shameful to have children at once in the
842 first year of marriage, Pe. Humberto Limpens of Acuaricuara,
183 river Paca, informed us. They want children only two or three years after the marriage, and this is also the interval between
[797] children. A demonstration that this is artificial is given by the good Christian mother, alumna of the Mission, with successive children and at once from the first year. One understands the
[462] difficulty of the native mother who, besides the care and nursing of the child, is pressed with the work of the house and of the clearing, if she does not have the help of older daughters.

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/footnote 117 cont./ by the Monfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Linpeis /sic/)

835 Even more infrequent (it is true that they practice so many sexual liberties and are such small groups that such cases could not be numerous) is incestuous concubinage between parents and children (118).

118. A public case in Teresita (river Papuri) between a Desana individual, who would not find a wife, and his own mother.

[842] [847] In these cases they always avoid children, not only with the help of the puçangas /potions/, but also through physical and mechanical processes (119).

119. We learned of a man in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, who had two children from the relations with his own daughter: one was aborted in a few months, and the other one lived only a short time after its birth.

2) Extramarital liberties.

831 We thought at first, and so did the Missionaries, that the licentiousness of the periodic caxiris was merely an eclipse in the upright and normal sexual life of the natives.

It has already been noted that in the most solemn ones, the Dabacuris, the body paintings are executed by persons of the other sex.

[797] /388/ In any caxiri, when excited by the drinks, liberties take place. Outside of the caxiri, testifies Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, "they are aware (120)

120. This concept of the Missionary can

/425 cont./

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b) The Children.

The natives want children, hence the general fact that all constitute regular families. The fertility of the marriage is an essential condition for its validity. The birth of the first child seals the implicit contract of marriage and stabilizes the marriage, changing wives no longer being possible.

[842] /426/ They desire, however, male and female children alternately; the former are the perpetuators of the group, the latter, besides the work that they will perform, facilitate the marriage of the male children by the exchange process. If three girls are born consecutively, the Indian will blame the wife, thinking that it is her fault (34).

[847]

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34. An example was mentioned to us in Teresita, river Papuri, Colombia. At the birth of the fourth child of the female sex, the mother buried it alive. The Missionary asked: "Why did you do that?" --"Because my husband reviled me."

As to the number of children, due to the difficulties in raising them (especially because the whole burden falls on the mother), numerous progeny are not found. Six or seven children occur with some frequency (35).

[145]

35. It is to be noted that the girl does not always marry young. And, on the other hand, the type of life ages her precociously, and perhaps her fertility ceases quite prematurely. It was not granted us to verify at which age the menses stop for the woman. We know, to be sure, that menstruation begins around 14 years of age and that they know and use plants for the regulation of the monthly courses.

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842 The interval, as we have already noted, is regularly two or three years between deliveries.

1) Abortion and infanticide.

• 847 In spite of the fact that they want children, they induce abortion and practice infanticide. When the sterilizing potions have not been enough, they resort to abortion; for this there are the Puçangas, which the woman herself or her mother-in-law prepares. When these are not successful either, the mechanical process is tried, in order to kill the fetus and abort it, going so far as stepping on the belly of the pregnant woman. And if, in spite of this, the unwanted child is born alive, it is eliminated, being buried alive (36).

[115] 36. The Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, with a tirociny of almost 40 years among the tribes of the Uaupés, stigmatizes "the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn children, suffocating them as if it were being done to any little animal" (ap. Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 26).

And as a rule it will be the mother herself who will do it. Perhaps the burial alive indicates a certain feeling, conceiving it as a pleasanter death. In fact they line the grave delicately with banana leaves (37).

[115] 37. Among the most repugnant is the episode narrated by Pe. Afonso Kuipers, which happened in the povoado of Africa, left bank of the Papúri, [732] Colombia. A child of about eight years of age, deformed with a huge head, was buried standing up; and since the grave was small, the mother stepped on the head, out of the ground, "in order to bury more and not continue crying."

/426 cont./

847 There are four regular cases of infanticide: 1st. -- That
848 of the illegitimate child. Such are all those who are born outside of the legitimate conjugal union. The reason is the shame which it gives rise to (38).

38. /This footnote is on p. 427 in the original source./ It does not constitute, however, a matrimonial obstacle for the unwed mother. It is a sign that she does not have "malefice of sterility."

The children can only come from a legitimate marriage. It is a grave insult to tell someone /427/ that he does not have a [829] father. There is one exception: the children of the civilized are in general spared (39).

39. Cases are known in which the child's grandparents were proud because their grandchildren were "children of white."

Objects of the greatest shame are the incestuous children. With the utmost secrecy abortion will be induced or infanticide performed.

562 2nd. -- That of the fourth or fifth consecutive child of the
847 same sex. Especially if they are females (40).

40. In March of 1957 a woman, still young, was taken to the hospital of Pari-cachoeira, river Tiquié, in serious condition as a consequence of an abortion. Further investigation showed that it was a matter of criminal abortion, with the expulsion of the fetus in two pieces, with an interval of two days. And the cause was the fear of having a child of female sex, like the two previous ones. We could not find

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/footnote 40 cont./ out whether some pajé, who foresaw the sex of the child to be born, might have intervened in the case.

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3rd. -- That of twin children. One of the two will be eliminated; usually the second one, unless another reason counsels the contrary. For example, they will preferably eliminate the defective one, or the girl. It seems that the reason for this crime is the difficulty, for the mother, of raising two children simultaneously, with all the work that falls to her; and no other reason of magical or superstitious character (41).

[797]

41. The Missionaries have managed to save and raise some twins, and, when grown, that is, after four or five years, the parents receive them willingly, or rather they demand them.

Patrícia Vasconcelos said that the husband beats the wife when she gives birth to twin children.

[736]

Nevertheless this different way of acting causes surprise: when a child becomes orphaned by losing its mother, it will not be killed, but will pass into the care of another woman. When, on the other hand, it is a matter of twins, no woman will take on the burden of raising one of the newborn children, even when there is some newly lactating mother who has just lost her child (42).

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42. Pe. Antonio Giacone confirms this, saying that he saw new mothers emptying their breasts, or nursing some little dog, rather than feed someone else's child (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 53).

Even in these cases there does not appear to be any superstitious motive, but only the selfishness of the women and no friendship at all between them. If they take care of the orphan, it is due to the inviolable imposition of the irrevocable customs of the tribe.

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845 4th. -- That of the defective children. Any noticeable
• 847 physical defect is fatal to the newborn child. And it can not be believed that it is a matter of a magical reason, but rather, on one hand, the great vanity of the parents, above all of the mother, and, on the other, the thought that it will be a burden to the tribe, which /428/ needs perfect and strong individuals and desires only those. The deaf-mutes escape more easily (as was confirmed) because it is not until much later that they manage to verify their defect.

2) The delivery.

844 The delivery is considered a physiological operation of the woman, like any other, and will not excite attention or care. In spite of the lack of hygiene and of preventive measures, these daughters of Eve seem to have the most normal delivery in the world. Many times they keep on working until that moment (43),

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> 43. There was related to us by the Salesian lay Brother, the Agronomist Teotônio Ferreira, the case of an Indian woman in S. Gabriel, who worked in the clearing in the morning, bore a child in the afternoon, and on the following day came to resume her work. There are frequent cases in which the Missionaries order them to take a rest and they refuse.

and shortly afterwards they begin their normal working life again.

The men, however, will leave the maloca (or wherever the delivery takes place), perhaps leaving the parturient woman in pain, because it is ordered that they cannot witness it. For this reason, if there are guests in the maloca, the parturient woman will withdraw inside some apartment, if there is any, or they will prepare it in time for this purpose, or else she will leave the maloca in order to give birth in the forest. Just as she must also not have in the place any ax, machete, or any other object of iron or metal.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

561 still needs help is *tcumihinkü* (male) or *tcumïhinko* (female); the youngster until puberty is *hwainyó* (male) or *hwainkó* (female); the adult male is *ümü* (male) or *nomyó* (female), and finally, the old people are *bekü* (male) or *bekó* (female).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

842 The Cubeo believe it is the spermatic fluid (*hürü*) that causes conception. They regard the womb as a ground in which the fetus grows, or is cultivated as seeds are planted in the earth. Since men and women do not discuss together the biology of conception and of [843] pregnancy, their views differ. Men I spoke to dated conception from the time when the abdomen begins to swell, while women dated it 843 from the cessation of menstruation. Both sexes believe that con- 833 tinued coitus after conception will add to the number of children 842 that will grow in the womb. Stories are told of people who did not heed this so that the woman burst from an accumulation of fetuses. Coitus is stopped, however, by the male reckoning.

842 It is a common view of men that women are not eager to bear 847 children. Women, they say, know how to bring about abortion and frequently resort to infanticide. They explain that women are sexually too ardent and rather than forgo coitus during the long nursing [833] period they would rather not have a child at all. Moreover, a woman who has not been enjoying sexual intercourse with her husband will abort or kill her offspring. If she chooses infanticide, however, she spares the boy. Women do concede knowledge and use of abortifacients and they acknowledge that others of their sex practice infanticide. They agree that a woman who does not love her husband punishes him by denying him a child. Thus, the Cubeo are disin- 842 clined to believe in barrenness or in sterility, attributing infertility to [586] female design. A man, therefore, has cause to abandon a wife who bears him no children. One man told that he had abandoned his wife for not bearing children. Later they became reconciled; his wife had a change of heart and began to bear children.

847 Male infanticide, I was assured, was rare, for even the most dis- [562] affected or self-indulgent woman would not have the heart to kill a male child. Both men and women agreed that a girl was less important. The unwanted child is buried alive, it is said, at the very spot where it was born.

842 The likelihood is very strong, then, that a child is born to a family that desires it, and in which husband and wife are happy with each other. Parturition takes place in the woman's manioc garden. A

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region. 614

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased. 592 622

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks. 756 [766]

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence. 163 844 847 845

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more. 866 841 844 171

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like 796 [562]

[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua general*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.